THE POINT OF REPRODUCTION: A SECOND FRONT

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Marx discovered, and Lenin confirmed, that the workers are underpaid, not overcharged, and thus exploitation takes place at the point of production. After this discovery, the entire geography of humanism has shifted to the point of production and, following De Leon, even more specifically to the point of industrial production. All points to the factory, to the struggle of daily production, to the organizing of trade unions at the factory in preparation for the workers' seizure of the means of production.

Consider the advantages of industrial concentration. The definition of "the worker" is clear, especially since all other sections, including the ruling class, keep saying "We work." Great masses of men are brought together so that organizing is helped. "Street unions," such as the teamsters, have logistical problems that factory unions, such as the auto workers, do not have. A more subtle advantage is to recognize that some unpleasant labor, labor that is dangerous and tedious, will have to be performed during socialism, the transition stage to communism. The principle of the least pleasant necessity is acknowledged by giving state power to those that perform this labor, such as coal miners. This assures that this labor is most rapidly upgraded in terms of safety, retirement, health, vacations, automation, public appreciation and public authority. Today the worse the work the lower the pay and the status. Under socialism this reverses, which alone proves the revolutionary nature of the change. The society is finally stood right side up again, with the foundation of the society, the masses, the working class, in power; as it was before the first stage of exploitation, slaveocracy, was reached. These virtues of industrial concentration must be acknowledged and re-enforced in action, in life itself. Industrial concentration is the first front.

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PREJUDICE AGAINST THE NONWORKING WORKING CLASS

But this geography of the point of production has led to the total neglect of the second front - what Engels termed the point of reproduction. The working class does not live in factories. Even in a period of compulsory overtime of as much as eighty hours a week, not even the worker lives at the point of production. He lives in his home, in his community, in working class neighbourhoods. His wife, because of discrimination against women, often does not work and often spends all her time at home as a housewife. The children are now mostly out of the factories, though some still do stoop labor as migrant farmers in an increasingly industrialized farm production. The geography of the working class is overwhelmingly at the point of reproduction not the point of production.

Exclusive industrial concentration

separates the worker from the working class. It is easy to calculate this degree of separation. The working class children, injured workers, retired workers, unemployed workers, and sexually, racially, ethnically and religiously discriminated-against workers constitute the majority of the working class even during periods of "full employment." During depressions these numbers swell. Assume a working class family of two older retired workers and two middle aged workers and two children. Assume the father is holding a job and a half, "moonlighting" for the second job, and the mother holding down one job. Even counting portal to portal time, the two working adults might be at their labor 150 hours a week. With 168 hours in the week and six members of the family, the family lives 1,008 hours with a total of 858 of them spent at the point of reproduction, approximately eighty five percent of the time.

A good Communist is a good family man or woman, a good collective working class family man or woman. He or she does not neglect the working class young, sick, old, unemployed, class discriminated against: nor is the individual family used as an excuse to betray fellow working class neighbours. The collective sisterhood and brotherhood of the workers is not a copy of the dog-eat-dog ruling class philosophy of the bourgeois family, but a collective family, groups of families working toward cooperation among the working class neighbours for the collective community good: the same unity shown in struggles at the point of production.

To achieve working class unity, the women and the children must be given as much attention as the men. This requires a dual concentration at both the point of production and the point of reproduction. Until this dual concentration is achieved, the full power of the working class can not be mobilized. Also, since so much of the working class, especially the women and children, are not at the point of production, their mobilization will not drain energies from the work of organization at the point of production. It is additional energies that will be provided from the working class, not a diversion of energies.

It seems a contradiction to announce that the workers must be united with the working class, a play on words, a trick. But it is not. Workers are not the same as the working class, they are a part, a subset of the whole class. The separation, and need to overcome the separation, can be clearly seen geographically. The worker is in the factory while the working class is outside the plant gates surrounding the factory. Industrial concentrators will argue that if the working class outside the factory is organized it will divert energies from organizing inside. Concretely, it is sometimes necessary to organize inside the plant by having people outside the plant leaflet the plant gate, since there is no nucleus inside the plant to use for that function. But surely the working class surrounding the factory is not just waiting to leaflet a factory. Surely, if the working class neighborhood were mobilized around its own directly-perceived self-interests, then it would be in better fighting shape to aid the workers inside the factory. Even better, there are occasions when the worker inside the factory, and the working class outside the factory, share common interests. Especially in these cases, simultaneous mobilization is mutually reinforcing of the two sections: worker and working class.

Rigid thinking about exclusive industrial concentration misses the most transparent unities of interest. For instance, what is called "pollution" outside the plant and overwhelmingly a working class affliction (since the bosses' homes are never exposed to serious pollution) is known inside the plant as an "industrial disease." In Toronto there is a lead plant which causes the workers to sicken and die of lead poisoning. Outside the plant, in the working class neighborhood in which it sits, the children get so much lead in their brains that by the time they are thirteen or fourteen they begin to become "slow learners." And what do the gentlemen who run the plant tell the workers inside the plant when the working class tries to protect the children outside the plant! "Those people are trying to take your job away." And this lie has temporary effect in dividing the workers from the rest of the working class. But what if the points of production and reproduction were simultaneously mobilized? What if a leaflet, addressed to both the workers inside the plant and the working class outside the plant, would point out the geographic commonality of the lead poisoned environment and its effects both inside and outside the management's property? It is likely that at least some of the workers in the plant live in the very neighborhood in which the plant is located. These would be key workers in any struggle to unite the workers and the working class.

It is clear, from the above example alone, that those who argue that mobilizing the working class dilutes mobilization of the workers are incorrect. It is a mechanical argument as if there exists a set amount of energies in the form of organization and cadre, it is a personalization of work as if one more task would exhaust the organizers. Thinking dialectically it is seen that the energies of the working class, not the cadre, are the ultimate energies and mobilizing these energies more than pays back the energy necessary to start the mobilization. Coming at the objection of dilution from a slightly different angle, if the scientific socialists have seen the advantages of united fronts, of even student-worker alliances, and do not view this as an exhaustion of energies but as a gain of them; then why would not uniting the working class with the workers yield even a greater gain of energies?

DISCRIMINATION AGAINST WORKING-CLASS WOMEN BY SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISTS

To repeat, industrial concentration deals with only part of the working class part of the time. This may be vividly seen from any mapping of the working class, where on the material earth's surface this class exists in the real, objective world, at any instance of time. What are the results of this misgeography of exclusive industrial concentration? It is correctly asserted by humanists that women and others are discriminated against by exploitative systems and can not obtain employment at the point of production; therefore, it follows with iron mathematical logic that a political concentration at the point of production must identically discriminate against working class women who are not represented there because of discrimination by the bourgeoisie. This mathematical certitude can not be redressed by appeals to the future employment of women. It is not possible to solve present day concrete problems through futurism. It is utopian to so try. To try and pull working class women into point-of-production-concentration-auxiliaries will not do. Women's auxiliaries to unions are appendages, essentially supplementary to the men, and therefore degrading. The objective effect of industrial concentration is to produce an anti-working-class-women atmosphere in political work. If the sex ratios of worker demonstrations are counted from photographs of street demonstrations around the world, the objective effect of industrial, and therefore male, working class concentration can be devastatingly documented. The working class woman is abandoned by her husband. She becomes a "union widow." He neglects his children. The more the honest trade unionist becomes dedicated to a scientific solution to his classes' oppression, the less he is present in the working class community. Collectively their divorce rate is high. Collectively they never seen to win.

What are the sex ratios in industrial production? If approximately forty percent of the work force is women, much less of the industrial work force is women. How many female coal workers, loggers, steel workers are there? Industrial concentration concentrates on the "super male" section of the working class. The trade union leaders in this section are almost exclusively male. If a "working class" political party is drawn from merely the trade union movement, an extremely male instrument in the industrial sector, the bias towards men is even more acute. "The working class" becomes reduced to "the worker" further reduced to "the industrial worker" further reduced to "the industrial worker trade unionist." This almost-all-male organization is led by all-male philosophers. Marx, Engels and so forth whose all male faces are dutifully reproduced in posters. Just count the sex ratios of revolutionary posters to objectify the male supremacy of "progressives." The practical political effect of concentration to the head of a pin, is to reduce the working class political parties in fact, and perception of that fact, to male trade unionist parties, not working class parties at all. The wife votes "conservatively" since a left party is her husband's party, a totally male image with a "community work" tag on. Objectively speaking, industrial trade union political parties get stuck at a certain percentage of support because the women of the working class are in fact and philosophy excluded.

In societies with high percentages of small farmers, the point of production and the point of reproduction are not geographically separated. The percentage of progressive women participating in progressive movements in such communities is often actually higher than the percentage of men. Parties do not neglect the women. There are no "peasant cooperative widows." The progressive men do not literally abandon the communities in which their women and children live. They collectively defend the hearth and home and children. These parties win.

CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS AT THE POINT OF REPRODUCTION

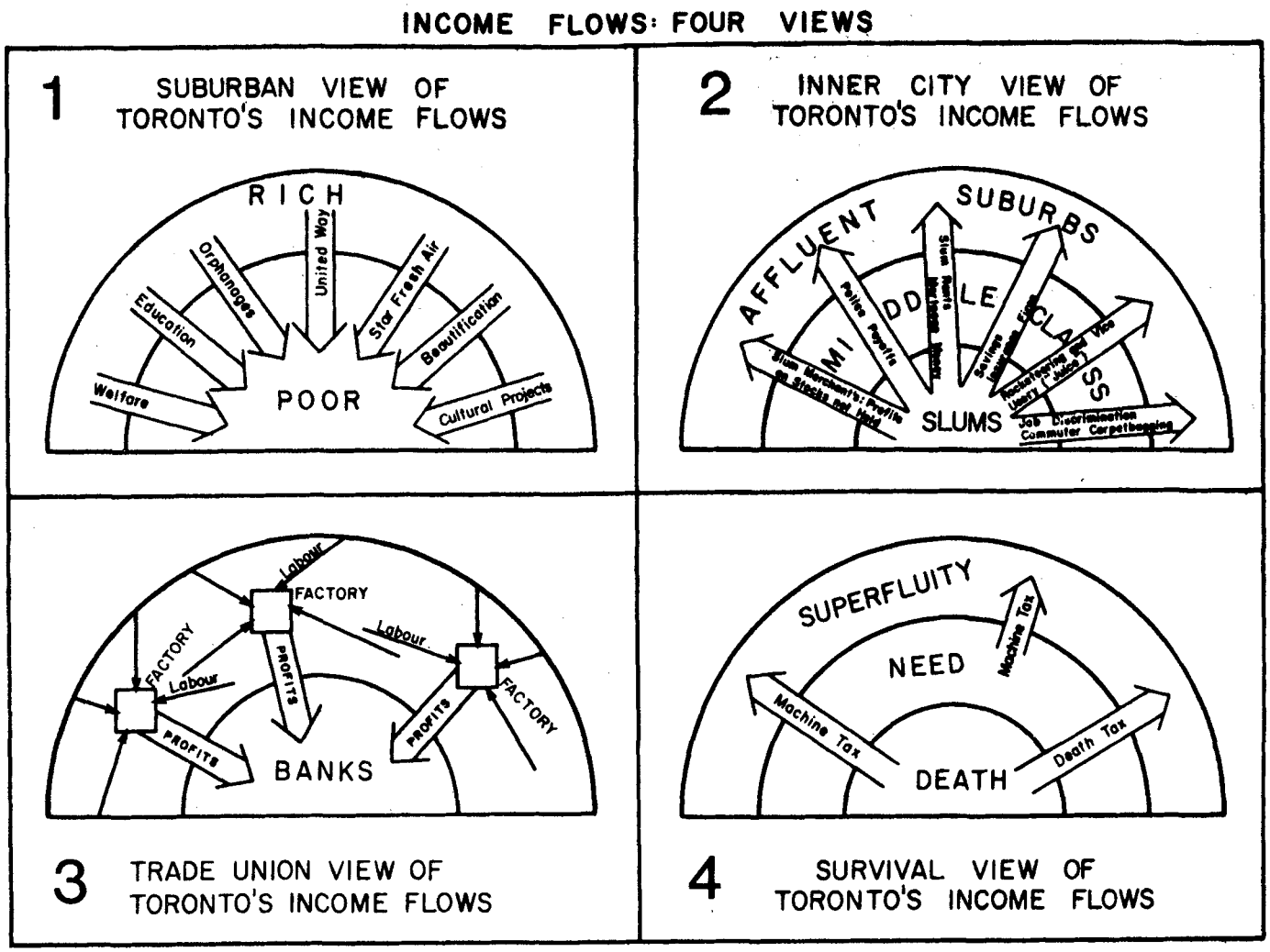
The point of production, the assembly line, assembles the geography of the various working class elements, the racial, ethnic and other separate and often deliberately-set against-each-other groups from separate neighbourhoods. The work place helps break down this divide-and-conquer tactic of the ruling class. But likewise the point of reproduction unites the geography of various types of working class labor; the skilled and unskilled, the various trades, the various plants even in the same industry. It is no easier to unite the working class at the point of production than reproduction. Most workers do not spontaneously rediscover Marxism while toiling in the teeth of the machinery. They mostly think of escape, not struggle. Workers do not automatically feel a Communist pride in themselves. In spite of the struggles at the point of reproduction they also do not feel an automatic working class unity.

Workers, as Marx pointed out, feel they are overcharged at the point of reproduction not underpaid at the point of production. Rather than utopianly immediately pointing out the error of this thought, it is always best to start precisely with the consciousness of the mass of the workers. Superexploited workers are overcharged at the point of reproduction. Comparing prices in superexploited neighbourhoods to exploiter neighbourhoods causes immediate working class response and leads to creditability when it is announced, "Don't spend less, make more," or "No one will hire you unless he can make a buck off of you." Superexploitation does not provide what Marx called "the necessaries" and causes genocide the high infant mortality rates of the City

of Death. Superexploited workers are overcharged simultaneously while being underpaid. If this reality is denied, though it is the smaller reality since exploitation at the point of production and superexploitation at the point of production are the main exploitative forms, then a self-discreditation takes place. To concede the smaller more apparent truth is a nonutopian path to the larger truth.

In both a technical way, and a propaganda easy-to-understand way, the geography of exploitation and superexploitation can be mapped (Figure 1). It is possible to show the flows of money from the points of production or from the banks to the exploiters, but it is difficult to calculate, complicated, and not easy to believe. Using, instead, the point of reproduction, the valu flows may be easily mapped. The reasoning i that all men are created equal, babies are equal; so if a man is a well raised, a mammalian requirement, and he works for no other and employs no others he should make the natural wage of the species given the technological state of the art of progress. A dentist is such a person. Calculating the amounts below this wage that the exploited and the superexploited make, and multiplying

FIGURE 1



times the numbers in their neighbourhood, yields the total amount of income flows. If the "taxes" are so much that the community is getting less than "necessaries" then the children die there causing the City of Death, the point of reproduction of the superexploited, and if paid the bare necessities, the City of Need is produced. Such maps of value flows out to the City of Superfluity are so clear they have both a propaganda and agitational effect and can be placed on the buses in working class neighbourhoods and are immediately understood. The detials are worked out elsewhere(1).

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION OF THE POINT OF REPRODUCTION

If the lifeism aspects of the point of reproduction are neglected by exclusive point of production concentration, so is the political organization of working class power. Not all power flows from relationships of production at the point of production. It is simplistic in theory and practice to organize state power only around the trade unions. In all existing socialist systems power is organized geographically, in addition to functionally not in contradiction to it. Articulation of the power of the working class in their communities is constantly arising spontaneously from working class neighbourhoods. Since almost all the people and nations of advanced industrial systems now live in cities, the urbanization - including electrification - of the countryside is almost complete. There are no farmers left, just industrial agriculture, and there are now no nations that occupy land in the classic sense of land. There are only city dwellers and "ethnic neighbourhoods." If these in fact, in life, in concrete material reality, urban nations are not given urban national expression; then there is no national expression possible. Giving native peoples in North America rights on the reservations is increasingly meaningless, since these people increasingly live in Los Angeles and Minneapolis. Urban nationalism, all power short of sovereignty, is discussed in greater detail elsewhere(2). The theoretical problem is solved, but exclusive industrial concentration again stands in the way of implementation.

What is the effect of not articulating the cultural-national geography of working class neighbourhoods? The lopsided, hop-on-one leg industrial concentration means that the working class interests are cemented in the crucible of daily production in front of the steel hearth, on the assembly line, in the coal pit, and unravelled just as fast by the neglected and therefore reactionary poisons at the point of reproduction. Black, white and Puerto Ricans can be hammered into a union during the work day but, back home in the community, the teenagers are killing each other in communal strife on the streets, in the schools and in the parks. Till this backward side of the working class life is at least neutralized, the industrial concentration will be undone. Racism has a geography, is relatively absent on the assembly line and rife in the working class neighbourhoods. Urban nationalism allowing neighbourhoods "power in place" with no forced mixing or forced segregation, offers a scientific solution to the situation precisely at the level of working class understanding, while reinforcing principled commitment to working class unity.

STYLE OF WORK

Style of work, its form, is crucial. The Torontonian neighbourhood forms of organization, in comparison to those in Detroit in the 1960's, are overwhelmingly middle class. To discuss this important point in some detail - founding conventions and subsequent meetings should be held in working class spaces, where the working class feels at home, in churches, in union halls, even in the community restaurants or the more sedate taverns. University campuses are the spaces of the petite bourgeoisie, the middle class, not the working class. The working class might wish to march on campuses to seize them, but they are inappropriate places for the working class to mobilize itself. Universities are in a state of constant aggression against inner-city working class neighbourhoods by their physical expansion against such neighbourhoods, and intellectual aggression, such as sending thousands of students each year to ask insulting questions of the working class people surrounding the inner city campuses. The working class refers to this as being "studied to death." It constitutes a serious blight in working class neighbourhoods near college campuses. Yet the progressive "Movement for Municipal Reform" in Toronto typically held its founding convention on a college campus.

Robert's Rules of Order is the darling of the social democrats as they form little parliaments, evidently even in their own homes. They give every sign of conducting evening dinners entangled in second degree amendments over passing the salt. Working class organizations spontaneously tend toward democratic centralist forms, though the phrase is not used. A working class leader is constantly talking to the membership. He settles petty personal disputes, receives and reshapes strategies presented by individuals and informal delegations, he responds on the spot to changes in work conditions. Meetings, of a parliamentarian sort are seldom held and only generate mass attendance during a crisis. Working class people are not leisured. Time is money to them and they attend meetings with an eye on the clock. Middle class bored housewives develop a different demeanor inside meetings, where they pick over points to show off their legalistic skills. The middle class meeting is a convention of lawyers, both paid and amateur. Working class meetings are a confirmation of the leader's direction. The leader announces with authority what he wants

done. This appears dictatorial to middle class observers, not realizing that the leader has talked it over one by one with almost everyone in attendance. The membership ratifies what it knew was going to be discussed. Only occasionally does a meeting produce a debate by a faction or an individual. If the working class participants are from the same group, ethnically or nationally, they typically start and finish meetings with songs. In that they write and read material (and they do this much less than middle class people) it is not writing with the quality of a legal agenda, with dates and events and other abstractions from reality. Working class people tend to communicate direct personal experiences so that their literature is a form of socialist realism: highly factual, and, in this important sense, much nearer to the tradition of science with its materialism than the fanciful "art" of the middle class. A community paper written by a middle class organizer either has a legalistic flavor or a personal flair, where the editors use their own collection of esoteric words to individualize and identify the reporter, thus detracting with ego from the event being described.

A word of warning is necessary in pointing out that popular front forms require that middle class community organizations organize in middle class sytle. There is no objection to parliamentarian forms among those classes that find it suits them. The argument is that in working class neighbourhoods, these forms are to be resisted as seriously as they should in the trade union movement. This admonition is not a dogmatic defense of democratic centralism or socialist realism in journalism, but arises out of practical experience and observation of successful and unsuccessful community organizations. Imposing middle class norms on the working class does not work!

These questions of style are elemental, in the organization of the point of reproduction, just as they are in industrial concentration work. When attempts are made to organize the working class at the point of reproduction, they will inevitably fail and almost always do because the crucial question of working class forms is ignored and middle class forms are almost invariably used. Lawyers organize the meeting. Dogmatists who wish to see industrial concentration only, who see the total mobilization of the working class as a diversion from the total mobilization of the workers, are delighted when experiments fail in attempts to organize at the point of reproduction. But scientific socialists will persist till the skills and experience gained in trade union work is matched in community work. Working class forms and styles are just as crucial at the point of reproduction as at the point of production.

It is not only organizational style that must be attended to, but personal style as well. There is a thin line between "vanguard" and "snot nosed snob. Geography recognizes that people operate at various scales simultaneously and it depends on the function being performed at the moment, what scale of reference is necessary This sophistication of scale seems to be missing from other sciences. Consider the problem of Community Party, USA leadership. First there is the vanguard of the working class. Then, there is the worker within that class, as a vanguard of that class. Then the honest trade unionist is a vanguard of the workers. Then the Communist Party is a vanguard of the honest trade unionists and, finally, the leadership of the Party is a vanguard of that vanguard. Now if Gus Hall, as General Secretary of the Communist Party, USA, has his necktie askew, who would dare to tell him, considering "all he represents"?

In point of fact, Hall's personality is much more open than some others, in spite of him being five times the distilled essense of vanguardism. Among international communist leaders, Fidel Castro seems the most egalitarian in personality and approachability. He gives the impression of being among his people, on a first name basis but obviously the boss. Familiarity has not led to contempt. He spends the bulk of his time at the point of reproduction - production in the countryside (in agricultural Cuba they coincide).

What do attitudes of personal cold snobbery have to do with the point of reproduction? Is not this a question of style to be determined by self-conscious party discipline under democratic centralism. To answer at first on just the surface, "ward healers" or community workers, such as Communists who get elected to local offices, tend to be more personal and humanly warm in their approach than industrial concentraters. While this is a subjective statement, it is one that many agree with on the basis of their experiences in life. But beneath this casual observation lies some compelling logic for the existence of more intimate point of reproduction leadership and more withdrawn point of production leadership.

The lack of geographic concentration of the working class at the point of reproduction has been known to be a handicap to organization for some time. One of the prime virtues of industrial organizing is the natural concentration of the workers in gigantic factories and mines. This very diffusion of the working class in their neighbourhoods requires that leadership "stoop" to the working class, not only by seeking them out in their dissembled state, but by meeting the working class in their strongest territory, their homes. Even under the most repressive exploitative and super-exploitative forms, a worker's home is still relatively his castle. The working class has much more power in its homes then at its work. Socialism revolutionizes the power relations at point of production more, far more, than the point of reproduction. So

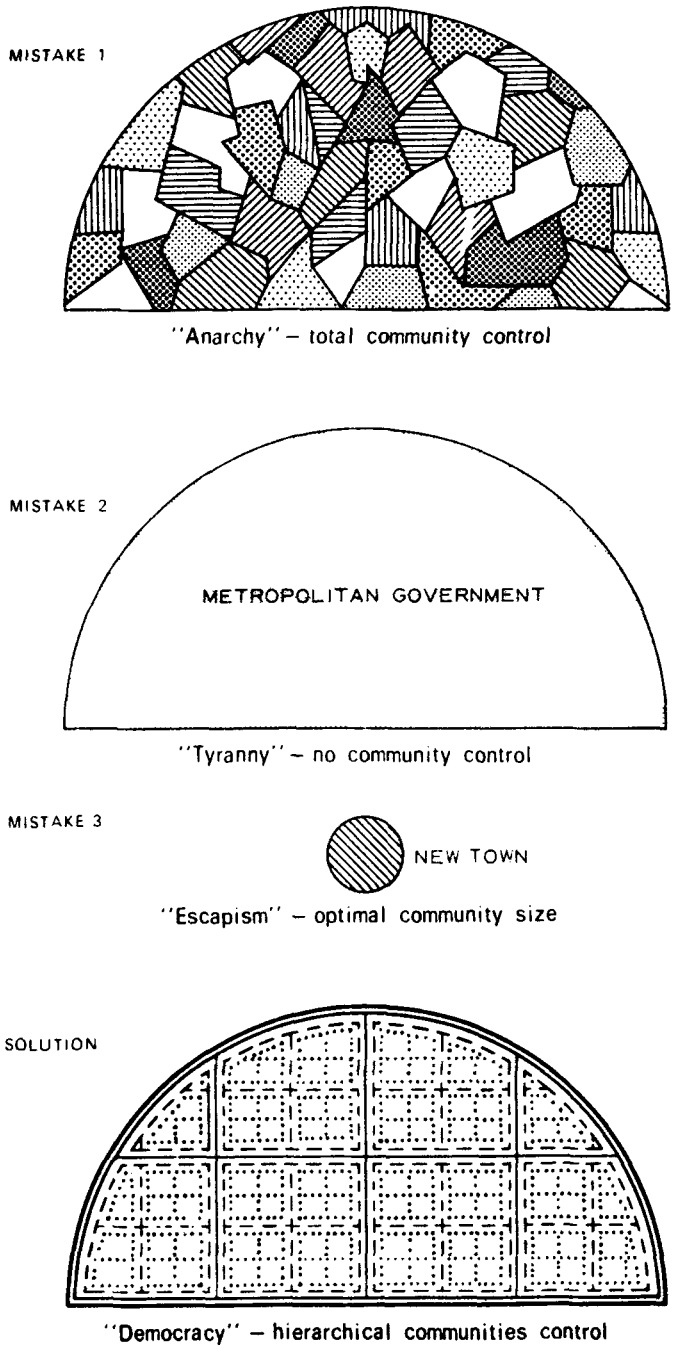
even Party cadre must be more diffident when visiting the workers in their homes than in Party Headquarters. This necessary demeanour of friendliness and asking-for-entrance is absent at a strike headquarters in the leader's presence.

But an even deeper understanding of the humanizing effect of point of reproduction work on cadre can be obtained. Consider the accompanying map (Figure 2) showing three mistakes and a solution of the geographic structuring of city government (in Toronto). The first mistake is "anarchy" with "community control" raised to the level of almost sovereignty. The unity of opposites, the dialectical equivalent of the first mistake is "tyranny," completely centralized government. "New Towns," a back-to-the-country Utopianism in an industrial age, is an "escapism" not without socialist example. The "solution" is a nested hierarchy of governments and it even appears graphically to be a solution, an elegant simplicity, even a beauty strikes the eye.

The nested hierarchy, in addition to

FIGURE 2

CONCEPTUAL MODELS OF THE POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY OF CITIES:
THREE MISTAKES AND A SOLUTION FOR TORONTO



its naked aesthestic appeal of looking correct, is buttressed by some political-economic realities that reinforce this impression. The number of people involved in making decisions should vary according to the kind of decision being made. If the number of people is too large or too small for the decision then a cost, a classic economic cost, will be charged by life for the technical error. The political system is linked to the economic inexorably, and thus properly termed "political-economy." The cost curve for the decision of brushing teeth rises rapidly with collectivization of the decision (Figure 3). A street dance requires more, but not too many, people to make the decision, a street full of people. War requires the entire state of people to make the decision, not subsections of the state, which would be a disaster. The leaders of these decisions obviously become more and more remote from the people as efficiency demands larger and larger groups from toothbrushing through street dances to war. Put in less clear, less abstractly gratifying terms, war tends towards strong central authority and peace towards strong local authority. Scientific socialists should improve their understanding of closeness and distance in leadership as a function of the activity being performed, not mere personality quirks.

Another objective argument for modest styles in leadership is not so directly geographic. The infant mortality map at all scales, individual to global, is the most perfect instrument yet discovered for disclosing superexploitation (Figure 4). Marx discovered the apparent truth that exploitation is determined by the "necessaries." The worker is given precisely the average biological necessities and this is the very definition of "labor power." The extra is precisely the "surplus value." Thus, the center of Marx's discovery of what determines wages, profits and value is biological. If the working class is given less then necessaries, it dies. The weak, the old, sick and children are the first to die. But Darwin taught us that the necessary weak are the children, not the old or the sick. So Marx and Darwin converge on the infant mortality map. Here the working class is so abused that the crisis is Darwinian.

Purists proclaim they are against plain old exploitation. Who is not? But the overwhelming pattern of facts, the truth, is that the working class never overthrows exploitation alone. Nowhere in the world has this happened. They overthrow super-exploitation and with it exploitation. Only if the working class is massively dying as in a losing, aggressive war, or under mass starvation, only then will the working class rise. Exploitation has the power of Marxist opposition, while super-exploitation has the power of opposition of both Marx and Darwin. When the existing system becomes alien to life itself, then the working class explodes. So nothing is given away at all to the concen-

FIGURE 3

Cost vs. Geographic Size of Unit for which Decisions are Made:

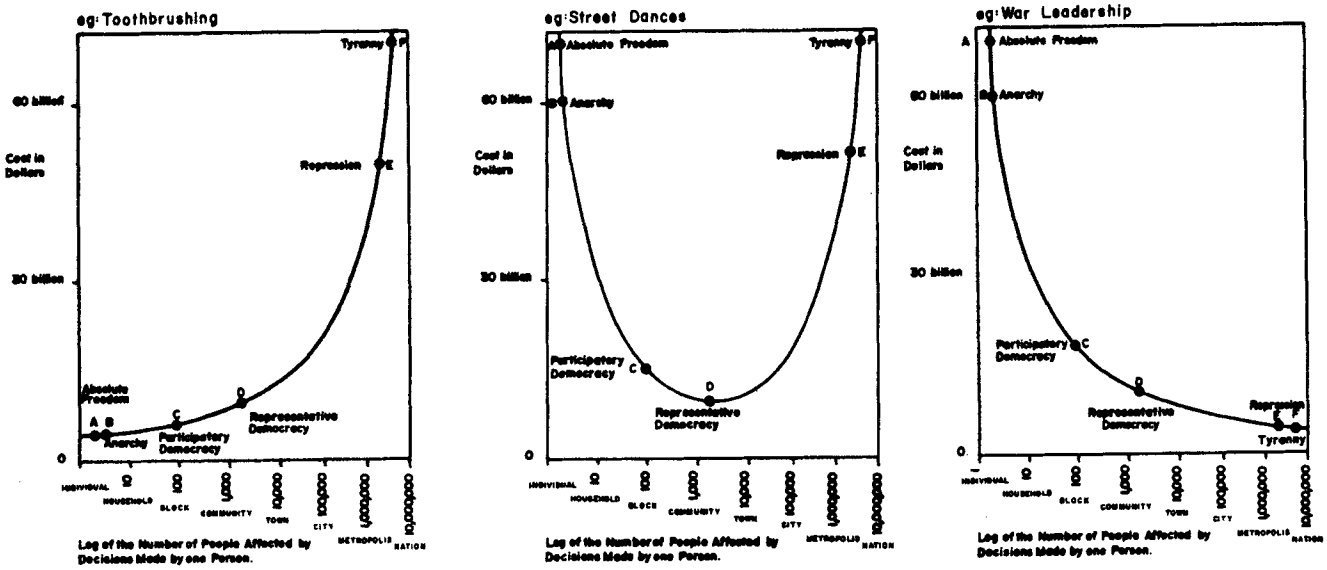
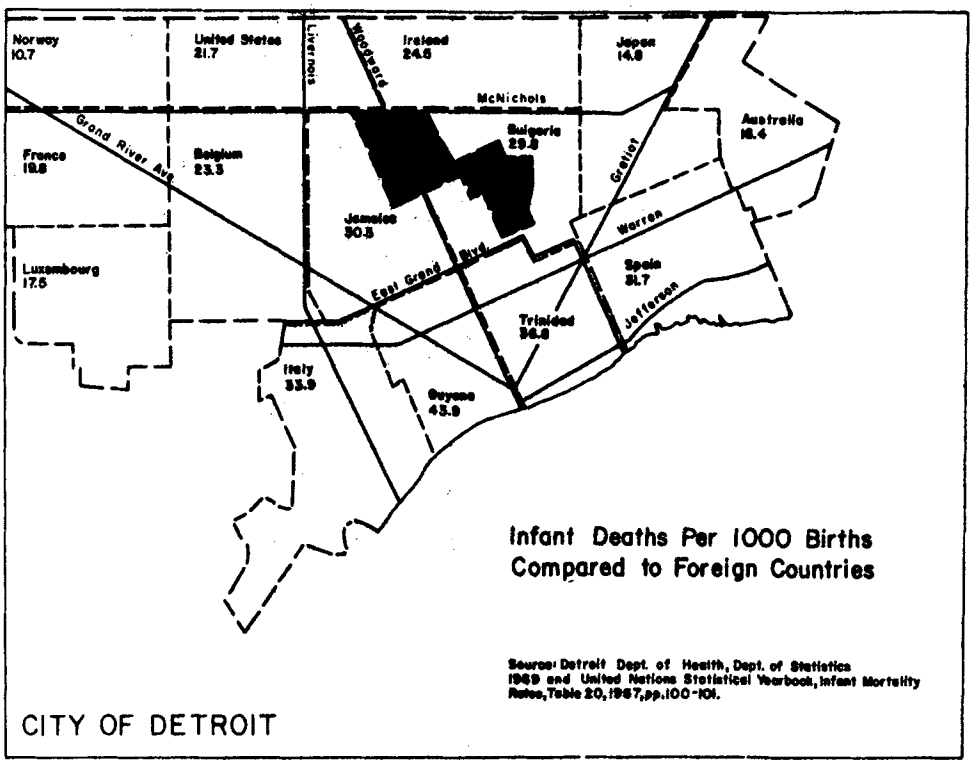


FIGURE 4



tration on super-exploitation as surgically defined by infant mortality rates.

Scientific socialists have often held themselves aloof from the norms that other sciences commonly recognize, such as the importance of minimal as well as maximal, standards. In mathematics the bracketing of solutions by this technique is totally understood. Maximal behavior is vanguard behavior, heroic, fanatic, operating at the very limits of human endurance. Minimal behavior is that which is barely acceptable, but decisively so, by the vanguardists. Minimal behavior is mass behavior, popular front behavior. Tens of millions of people exist who abhor the thought of killing children. Billions of people exist who abhor the thought of their own children being killed. These Darwinian masses are never lost to the better Marxist leadership seeking to stay in proximity to them.

WORKING CLASS COMMUNITY ETHICS AND POPULAR FRONTS

At the point of reproduction what counts is "putting bread on the table." It is life power, the number of babies a man or woman can provide for in a given year. "Labor power," while technically essential in professional understanding of political economy, is much too foreboding a concept for typical workers. It convinces plain ordinary people that you have to be a genius to be a Communist, it places Communism out of reach. "Life power" is within everyone's grasp and deepens the process of mixing economics and biology. The point of reproduction, raised to theoretical equality with the point of production, mixes money and life, projects Marx and Darwin onto each other, exploding the power of both.

In a Darwinian-Marxist crisis, a mixed crisis where super-exploitation has become a threat to the survival of the species itself then a mixed Darwinian-Marxist theoretical understanding must be developed. There is no contradiction between Marx and Darwin, just complementarity. In a biological crisi biological steps must be taken. The protection of working class children is the vital step in protecting the species childre itself. All children will be protected by a working class in power. Therefore, the mission of workers is to protect life itself by the total mobilization of the working class at both points of production and reproductio

We expect too much of Marx. He was the most enlightened man of his times, with only Engels as rival. But all men, no matter how progressive, are only progressive relative

to their times. No man is totally progressive, a Socialist Man ahead of time, ahead of Socialism. Engels udnerstood this and when he referred to mankind as being prehuman he did not exclude himself from that categorization. In an age of vanguard thinking, recognition of this basic inability of individuals or even small groups, to get very far ahead of their times, is missed. Lenin could not see the radioactive nature of Imperialism in its American Fascist form. Darwin was not part of the scientific socialist program on the same human level as Marx. Biological laws are still viewed by even as progressive a man as the Soviet geographer Anuchin, as at a level below social laws, though above the laws of physics. The need to take direct Darwinian steps in day to day struggle might seem absurd, like taking the laws of physics to the streets. But in a biological crisis direct political steps must be taken for biological, for Darwinian, for survival, reasons.

There has been no broadly accepted theoretical advance in scientific socialism since "popular front" theory in the 1930's. It is not the mechanical passing of forty years that is such damning evidence of the falling away from scientific norms, but that all this doom-filled radioactivity (Figure 5) has accumulated without theoretical advance. The world is profoundly changed without reflection in theoretical scientific socialism. This is incredible. However, the Darwinian thought of protecting the species children is much more useful than re-establishing the scientific legitimacy of scientific socialism, it provides a theory for a popular front, as opposed to a theory of popular front. What could all the non-illiberal capitalists agree upon? Excluding the superexploiters, the imperialists and the fascists, the killing forms of exploitation, all others including even liberal capitalists and the great American religious radical tradition could agree on a theory of child protection, a minimal agreement but one that would continue after the revolution. "Popular Fronts" against Fascists are not as appealing if after the Fascists are defeated the elements in the Popular Front feel free to do each other in. But if all child protectors would be tolerated, if not in command, even after the revolution, then it would be much easier to form a popular front before the revolution.

How can scientific socialists be Socialist Persons ahead of time? They can indicate, hint at, the direction of a cooperative society which in practice they do. In spite of no theory of dual concentration at both the points of production and reproduction, class conscious working class people are fine neighbours, forever in practice, trying to improve and protect the neighbourhood in what is called "community work." With proper theoretical emphasis this work can accelerate without drawing energy from the point of production. The point of reproduction theory gives direction toward future human relationships, the relationships aborning under the coming socialism. As the species approaches nearer to either Communism or doom, the nature of Communism is clearer. Assume free electricity and therefore the end of drudgery, no commodity value, just free resources. At first this state would appear to be one of Absolute Freedom, but with socialism's new found discovery of the fragility of the species existence, the working class of all countries has more to loose than its chains, it has to loose its and the species very existence, thus the need to raise up children under Communism, whether people want to or not, becomes apparent. The children, not the fetus, have the right to life. The species, under Darwin's laws, must continue. Therefore, Communism is not a state of Absolute Freedom but rather the Dictatorship of the Children, the most gentle of dictatorships. This is where the working class is leading the species, then, from the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie through the dictatorship of the proletariate to the dictatorship of the children. This understanding improves current work, sets the rock bed of humanism clearly under the revolution and sets the ultimate goal and responsibility of Communists as that of Lifeists. The most advanced Communists are Lifeists. They protect the children of even their worst class enemies out of the iron clas logic of scientific survival, with no maudlin sentimentality included at all.

It is the working class, even lumpen elements in it, that understands that a child molester-killer is the lowest of life. In prison rebellions such a person will be killed. Prisons, full of working class people and no ruling class ones, have the following order of morality: child molesters (death), procurers (contempt), strong armed robbery (physical respect), confidence men (intellectual respect) and political prisoners (total respect). These ethics are the reverse of ruling class ethics, where child killers - such as napalmers - are glorified and political revolutionaries despised.

WORKING CLASS CHURCHES

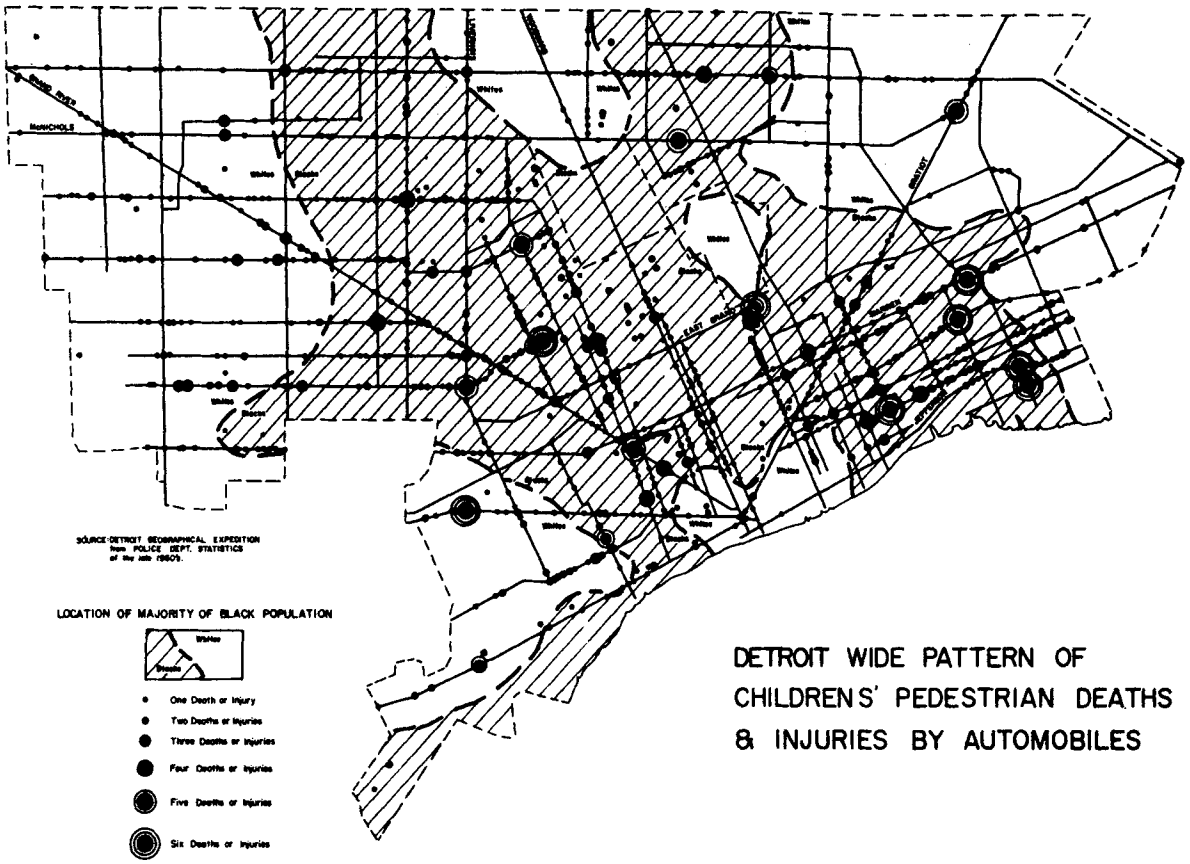
What are the instruments of working class organization at the point of reproduction? They are mixed. Parent Teachers Associations, block clubs and community councils provide secular forms, but careful and detailed examination of the geography of the point of reproduction in industrial proletariat neighbourhoods shows that the strongest working class instrument is the church(3). It is not enough to be a vulgar atheist. It is essential not to be a utopian one. Practical considerations require that the working class be organized precisely at the point of consciousness at which it has arrived.

If classical Marxism-Leninism is too Pavlovianly wedded to an absolute atheism to organize churches, then secular clubs

based on children, if not a true church, could be developed. In countries that have achieved socialism it is the children who are the pampered darlings, not the workers. The privileged class is children, not the full grown male worker who merely is given responsibility, that is, power. Authority and privilege are two distinct matters. By making the children central to life, (and having too many or spoiling them a lot is not healthy) ambitions are put in scale. Protecting children is not egotistical or adventurist. Since the working class children have been fairly well removed from the point of production, agricultural exceptions massively noted, it is as if the struggle to protect them has ceased. Working class children continue to be injured and killed out right now at the point of reproduction where they are fairly well confined. Yet there is not any self-conscious scientific struggle to protect them. Child labor laws are not enough! Concretely, a considerable amount of deliberate murder is committed by automobile. Especially in racial situations, children are deliberately run over by racist drivers for sport, like running over a snake on the road (Figure 5). Drivers in wealthy neighbourhoods almost always drive slowly and carefully because running over a child whose father has wealth and power will cause him no end of grief. Driving habits in working class neighbourhoods are careless, highly illegal. Careful, detailed, massive analysis in one working class neighbourhood revealed that over fifty percent of all traffic was moving illegally, mostly speeding. Child "accidents" were massive and terrified both the working class children and their mothers. Further, mass support to stop this slaughter was relatively easily generated. Defying commuters from wealthy neighbourhoods who run over working class children on their way from their suburban palaces to their downtown banks is a short step toward struggle against the machines at the point of production.

In the movie version of Charles Dickens' classic Tale of Two Cities, the revolutionary justification for the French Revolution is established in a scene in which a small slum child is seen running for his life while a nobleman's coach is rapidly catching up to the child in a narrow alley. The coach reigns up carelessly and too late as the

FIGURE 5



DETROIT WIDE PATTERN OF CHILDRENS' PEDESTRIAN DEATHS & INJURIES BY AUTOMOBILES

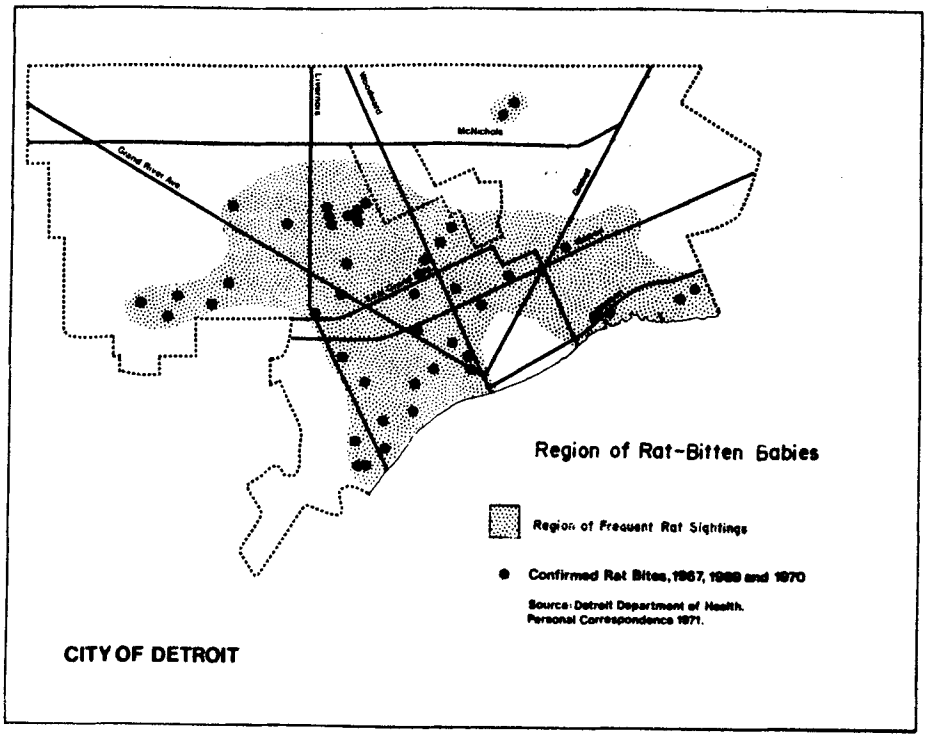
wheel of the coach is shown humping up and down again on the dying child. A haughty nobleman leans from the coach and with condencension tosses a gold sovereign at the grieving father. And what of the automobile executives racing home from their downtown offices and banks of their martinis ten minutes earlier then legal speeds? Do they not run over the children of Detroit? Do they not sprinkle a little insurance money over the corpses? Many other examples of child horrors at the point of reproduction exist, such as rat bitten babies (figure 6). These murders are not even on the agenda of scientific socialists who are concerned with "industrial accidents" and not working class "nonindustrial non-accidents."

A weekly Saturday or Sunday morning, Children's Day organized by progressives, purely secular, would release great working class energies hitherto untapped. The symbol of the revolution would be children, children in the arms of leaders, working class mothers and fathers protecting the children. "For the Future-The Children," would be the slogan.

"Children," as the symbol of the revolution, removes the egoism. The temptation, especially facing leadership, to develop a personality that accepts adoration, is severe and must be severely resisted. The emotional aspects of exploitation can be viewed as a breaking of men's spirit, so that they are regressed into an adolescent state, not fully grown men. This develops a dependency in the working class, causing it to look for "fathers" as Gods, Presidents, Fuerhers or Czars. Socialism, as a half-way house to Communism, encourages just as fast as possible, and no faster, the creation of the Socialist Man. This raises the question of the cult of the personality as a hinderance of serious magnitude toward the spiritual development of the masses. As mentioned, Fidel Castro provides a living example of the separation of authority from privilege. He certainly is the boss, but hardly distant and unreachable. He has remained, both physically and politically, close to the people. His example seems especially well suited to the rest of the North American continent with its Jeffersonian egalitarian roots. If the children were the official symbol of this continent's revolution, rather than a hammer and sickle, both the place and the radioactive times would be reflected.

"The working class of America has organized around its churches. This was true with slave revolts and the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960's. It has also been true of peace movements throughout American history. While there have been purely materialist leaders such as Thomas Jefferson and Eugene Debs, there have been as many religious leaders with political impact such as John Brown and Martin Luther King. It is suggested here that the aethiests reconvert to theism to reconnect with the masses, but that the theism be materialistic, the centrality of children in the struggle for human survival."

FIGURE 6



It is not accidental that geography, not Marx's history, made the discovery of the centrality of children in a radioactive age. Geography is the integrating science. It is integrating because it puts things together in space. Subject matters that are not usually considered together do come together spatially, in material reality. Geography is the anti-physics. More physics will not solve the deadly situation that physics created. Geography can study what other sciences consider "unrelated fields." The three forces that are crucial are Nature, Mankind, and Machinekind. The conversation between Nature and Mankind is the conversation of Darwin. The conversation between Mankind and Machinekind is the conversation of Marx. By looking at all three in space together, because they do in fact act together, we can examine the deepest questions of human existence. Is it the innate nature of mankind to be a killer? Or is it something else, something that can be cured?

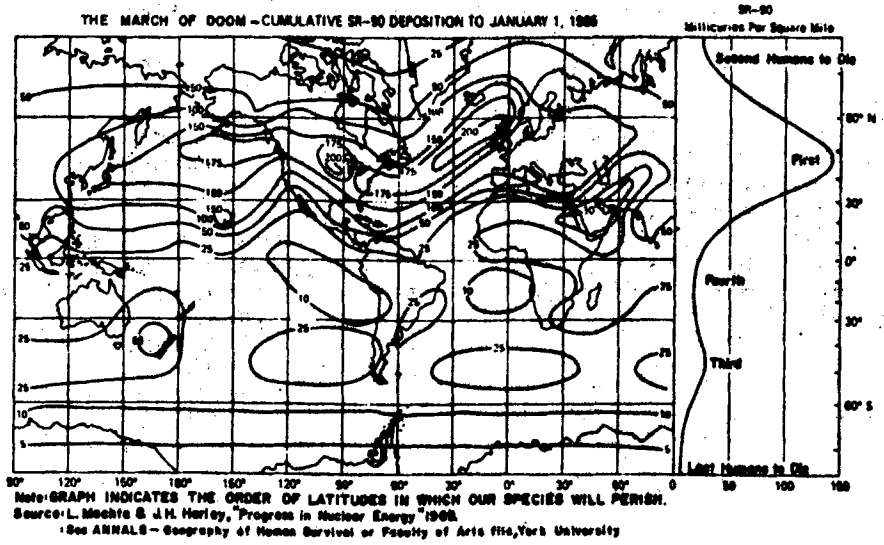
Mapped evidence of the innate deadliness of Homo sapiens, such as the Pleistocene extinctions, has been covered elsewhere(5). But the theme that the presence of mankind determines the decline of all life is too pessimistic. The space that must be examined is the space of machines and the various combinations of mankind with them, and their effect on life in general and especially Homo sapiens. The research strategy is to see what spaces are deadly to life (biomass) and children. Children are not selected out of sentiment but out of science. Children reflect the pressures of the environment more accurately, due to their very weakness. They are like canaries in a coal mine. If the children are felled, the adults have cause for alarm for themselves. But aside from their utility as more sensitive indicators of the environment, children have the weakness of young adult Homo sapiens. If a famine occurs and the children die, they can be replenished if the young adults have survived. "Only the strong survive" is the popular version of this thought. The difficulty is that all adults start as very weak babies. If an environment develops and is sustained in which the children can not survive, then the species itself perishes. It is the pressure of the environment on the young which is crucial to any species surviving. Almost all speciescide and even racial genocide occurs due to the process of the unreproducibility of the species or race. In this deep sense, "Only the weak survive." All strong adults started as weak infants. To see just how unsentimental this line of reasoning is, notice it is the power of the necessary weak over us, not the unnecessary weak. The unnecessary weak include the old and the sick. They can die off without the species itself perishing. It is true that if the environment is made healthy for the children, the sick and the old will also be protected, but this protection is a secondary benefit. The unnecessary weak receive protection because the necessary weak must receive protection. The geography of children becomes a most serious survival tool, not an ornamentation.

The recognition of the possibility of doom spurs along at a rapid rate. It has been difficult in the past to argue for struggle if the brotherhood of Communism was inevitable. The map of distributed radioactivity (Figure 7) makes materially and absolutely clear that there is an alternative to Communism. It is doom. The stick has been added with a vengeance to the carrot of universal sisterhood and brotherhood. The practical dilemma of urging workers to struggle for an inevitably is solved. Communism is not inevitable nor is doom. Humanist struggle will determine the outcome, and soon. History is infinite. Geography is finite. The infernal optimism of Marxism is unjustified; we may have time, but we do not have a place to stand in time safe from the threat of global radioactivity. The tools - the instrument of production -- are being outstripped by the weapons - the instruments of destruction. World brotherhood or else!

Mankind has leaned too far in the direction of machinekind and from nature in the commerce of the species, which is the middle of the road between nature and machinekind. The threat of doom proves that the machines must be controlled. Beyond their geographic and spatial caging, machines must also be controlled economically. It takes all the men togehter, to cage and domesticate the deadly and infernal and necessary contraptions. Socialism, classic Marxist socialism, with the dictatorship of the proletariat and the working class seizure of state power and the instruments of the state, have taken on a biological necessity, a Darwinian urgency. It is no longer correct to typify the situation as a society that can no longer exist under the present relationship of production to distribution, it is no longer possible for the species itself to exist under present relationships.

Objections might be raised that this is a modern version of the smashing of machines. Are not some machines to be smashed, or in the case of the thermonuclear missile, gingerly dismantled? Is this not a major goal of peaceful co-existence, nuclear arms reduction and eventual nuclear disarmament? Some machines should be destroyed. Others, like automobiles, should be vastly modified, humanized, geographically "put in their place." As Engels, that broad thinker, first pointed out it must be man-in-nature. Engels also first explored the relationship between tools and apes in the transition to the human state. Developing this reasoning established the symbiosis between mankind and machinekind (tools - weapons).

FIGURE 7



THEISTIC MATERIALISM

Churches exist to celebrate the existence of a non-existent supernatural God. How can that be avoided? The reasoning is short but deep. Since Lenin's time enough radioactivity has been accumulated that the species itself now can be absolutely annihilated. This presence of doom insists that the absolute relativism of dialectical materialism be replaced by a relative relativism and that the annihilation of the species be absolutely resisted. If this single absolute collective imperative of species existence is not recognized, then the humanist portion of dialectical materialism is contradicted. It is possible to be Darwinianly relative about the existence of Homo sapiens but not remain at the same time a humanist. Marx split the supernaturalism (technically "idealism") of Hegel from Hegel's dialectics and formed the more evolved dialectical materialism. This Marxist technique can be reapplied today by splitting the supernaturalism of religion's "God" from its absolutism, the absolute need for the species to survive. Marxists as humanists, absolutely must agree with the absolute need for the species existence free of any traces of relativism on that single subject. A singular absolute is an excellent philosophical excuse for defining god materially. What is the weakest necessary link with life? Children. Therefore defining the world's children, a collective but material object, as god, gives a sound philosophical underpining to organizing churches in working class neighbourhoods and it frees Marxists from a contradiction at the very root of philosophy. Churches of children are totally secular, they are not telephone booths to a non-existent ghostly God up in Heaven. The church service is totally materialistic, like cleaning up neighborhood tot lots, or taking the collective family, the entire church, for a picnic. A prayer becomes an act of kindness to a child - all absolutely materialistic. The immediate benefit is that it totally mobilizes the point of reproduction for the working class and gives the working class woman an important role in terms of her daily present struggle that she can totally understand.

Child preservation solves other problems too, such as the protection of children from physical violence is never an act of violence. If the ultimate act of violence is to deliberately kill a child then the ultimate act of anti-violence is to protect that child by all means necessary but no means unnecessary. Protecting children is understood by all classes to be humanist and lowers resistance to working class movements. Also, Fascism does not admit to being anti-children though this is its objective effect. Even under Fascism it is possible to be openly child protective, excluding those groups of children singled out as special racial targets. When the Fascist state collapses then its anti-children reality of "better dead than red" surfaces, as it moves to kill all and drag all down with it, especially its own children. The inevitable surfacing of this contradiction can be dealt with given proper theoretical-practical preparation. Protecting the children of all classes, protecting the children of one's enemies, has great iron under its velvet. It is found that rich children are raised in such palatial

estates that they are lonely, therefore the rich children should be protected from their ostentatious parents by passing zoning laws that prohibit children from being raised in palaces, for the children's sake. Scattering the children might prove as bad as battering them and the poor do not have exclusive rights to child abuse.

In practical terms, just what must be done? All species die out because of the environmental pressures that kill off the necessary weak, the young. If the Whooping Crane is to be saved, then every year the number of eggs hatched is carefully watched and encouraged. This Darwinian law does not except humans. Our young, the children, must be saved and they are at least four hundred percent more susceptable to radiation then adults. In Marxists terms, the children are at the point of reproduction and thus a dual concentration is necessary. Exploitation, which keeps evolving into super-exploitation is geographically located at the point of production, though some super-exploitation takes place outside the factory. The biological threat generates out of the factory, but the object of this deadly aggression lies at the point of reproduction in mostly working class neighbourhoods where the vast bulk of our species children reside. To save the children and therefore the human race both the sources of the threat, the plant, and the ultimate victims of the threat, the children, must be given attention.

COMMUNISTS, CLASS WARFARE AND CHILDREN

Will the traditional Communist Parties be able to absorb these new theoretical insights? No Communist Party bombs babies. Baby butchery is the property of capitalism, especially in Fascistic form, from Guernica to Rotterdam to Coventry to Dresden to Hiroshima to Vietnam. Illiberal capitalism kills kids, believes capital, machines not babies, are value, believes the less people, the more the per capita loot.

Nor is this a fluke of history. Not one Marxist group of the multiplicity of factions, no Social Democrat, nor any of the various Marxist-Leninist groups, has mass bombed civilians and therefore butchered babies. This humanity comes from the heart of Marx's analysis of political economy. Jesus, along with other tribal Communists, proclaimed that the rich steal from the poor, Marx measured it. Marx determined the precise degree of exploitation. But first he had to clearly answer the question "What is (economic) value?" And he determined this to be labor. Not labor, capital, resources and entrepreneurship as Marshall claimed years later, but labor and labor alone. From this rather cold scientifically precise understanding, the great humanism of Marxism flows because if labor, or as technically refined "labor power," and labor alone produce value, then children are valuable. They are the future producers of wealth.

Capitalists view labor as only part of value and in extreme cases, as a diluter of value. They believe in such nonsense as nonrenewable natural resources. Geography is often used to make these Fascistic-tending arguments. Coal is not a nonrenewable natural resource. Coal was made into a valuable commodity by the labor power of James Watts who invented the steam engine and thus gave coal its value. Oil is not a nonrenewable natural resource. Oil was made into a valuable commodity by Henry Ford, who massively produced the internal combustion engine in the form of the automobile. Uranium is not a nonrenewable natural resource. Uranium was made into a valuable commodity by Albert Einstein, who discovered $\underline{e}$ equals $\underline{m}$ times $\underline{c}$ to the second power. What other resources will be produced by this process of human labor remains to be seen but we, the human species, labor our way into the production of new natural resources long before they run out. The old "nonrenewable natural resources" are simply abandoned as no longer worth using. Wood did not run out as a source of heating fuel. It was replaced. Wild rice was not totally consumed before domestic rice was substituted. We, the species, gave up on salt licks long before we had licked all the salt out of them. Yet in geography especially, the spectre of a world clock running down is an effective tool of Fascist fright. The other side of the geographical Fascist coin is the thought that these limited resources are being consumed by an infinitely expanding population. "Population explosion" is a hoax. If a map were made of the world's expanding population before approximately one thousand years ago, it would be seen to be expanding slowly in areas of agricultural production, like China, West Africa, Mexico and Western Europe. The hunting and gathering areas were stagnant as they had been from the beginning. The original "population explosion" was merely the spreading out from Africa where we started as a thin population. With the industrial revolution, a one or two generation phenomenon first appeared in Western Europe of large families with low infant mortality rates. Then as the innovation of this phenomenon spreads, at the hear it inevitably died out as the birth rate plunged as low as the infant mortality rate.

This onion ring phenomenon spreading out from Western Europe, a one-or-two generation transition from high birth and infant death rates, to low birth and infant death rates, is now converging on the antipodes from Western Europe; parts of Latin America, most of Africa and Southeast Asia. This dying phenomenon is blown up by capitalists as a global threat to all in the future. Putting the two together, "limited" resources and "population explosion" the illiberal capitalists end up with a life boat loaded to the gunnels and with more people being pulled in from the sea every second threatening to sink the ship. Marxists point out that the people

build the life boat (labor theory of value) and that if you throw out half the people you throw out half the life boat builders. If you throw out too many people you lose the economies of scale that come from division of labor. Look at the drop in the standard of living of poor old Robinson Crusoe. So illiberal capitalists are always thinning the number of children, almost a mercy killing like thinning the deer so they will not overgraze. Marxists certainly believe in birth control and practice it much more fervently than Capitalist states who pretend to advocate it. But Marxists do not thin out the babies with napalm, or cluster bombs, or A bombs. Marxists protect those children, ultimately out of a technical understanding of what is value, proving again the power of abstract thought in leading to a vivid humanity of spirit.

If only Marx had been a geographer. Class warfare maps. The starving children are kept from the proximate food. It is not events alone that are racing, that are crashing in on top of each other. Locations are racing too, are crashing in on top of each other. Humans are so close to each other and so hate filled. Enemies in a shrinking broom closet.

Geography, the neglected Marxist subject that is, the subject unfortunately neglected compared to others by the founding fathers of scientific socialism (they could not do absolutely everything after all), has been a citadel of Fascism. If there is a need to concentrate among key sections of the working class, and there certainly is such a need, especially tactically, then it would follow that intellectual concentrations are needed as well and the case for a Marxist concentration in geography as a cesspool of unchallenged and mass effective Fascism can be made. Yet scientific socialism no longer has any apparatus for even searching for the eleventh classic of Marxism, much less an attempt to at least neutralize Fascistic thinking inside geography.

Not a word exists in official theoretical literature about doom, only the inevitability of the brotherhood of communism. You can no more have a "scientific" socialism without a theoretical-experimental effort than you can have a scientific geography or physics without one. Perhaps the classic Communist Parties will just stay stuck as have the Social Democrats and the others and only a new applied scientific socialist effort will prove to be Lifeist. But with half the radioactivity in Communist hands they can not just be tossed into the dust bin of history without perhaps collectively fatal results. Revolution without annihilation must be doggedly suggested for their agenda.

The Marxist experience of the 1930's can not be endlessly replayed like a broken record of radical nostalgia. The growing depression-inflation of the 1970's is taking place in a radioactive political environment that changes everything, except the minds of older dogmatists. Soup kitchens are growing. They should be re-examined since soup kitchens are almost all male. Why feed the men only? The most difficult section of the working class to feed are the working class children, especially pre-schoolers Why not have the men in the soup kitchens earn their soup by distributing food to the homes of children? This dignifies them as fathers and more importantly, feeds the children. This would be a soup kitchen of the 1970's not a replay of the 1930's.

Industrial concentration is correct, if accompanied by a second concentration around the children at the point of reproduction. The many advantages of industrial concentration are well known, but abandonment of the point of reproduction in addition to all the given ways outlined, even gives away such a classic revolutionary apparatus as barricades. The Paris Commune barricaded the streets not the factories. Even this is given away, even the barricades. That has to be narrow, dogmatic, incorrect. The concentration must be on the working class, not just the worker faction of the working class. Only the working class has the power necessary to save the children, therefore, all power to the working class, and all privilege to children, the life of life.

It is a standard Marxist illustration dealing with the reserve army of the unemployed - who are workers who are not working, not lumpen proletarian or petite bourgeoise, not "allies" - to tell how the foreman takes the militant worker to the window and shows him the line of men waiting for employment and the foreman points out, "If you don't want this job, they do." Is this same story not true at the point of reproduction? Why would the exploiters kill a portion of the working class in their slums if not to terrorize the other workers into higher productivity? The slum itself is one huge unemployment line and "There but for the grace of God," goes through the mind of a lot of cowed workers. Does the unemployment visible on the front porches and street corners mean less than the unemployed lined up at the point of production?

Workers are in some ways the privileged section of the working class, the most content. By putting down the unemployed at the theoretical level, and therefore at all other levels, the scientific socialists are further insulting an already maligned section of the working class. "Unemployment Councils" will not do. Philosophical equality is required. Add the racial and ethnic nature of ghetto unemployment, Blacks, Puerto Ricans, native peoples; and industrial concentration becomes even racist. Dual concentration solves all these contradictions.

The lessons at the point of reproduction

are re-enforcing, deepening and complementary to the lessons learned at the point of production. Men work to live, not live to work, in the current drudgery of dehumanized production line labor. Life is in the region of Marxist neglect. The working class makes a living at the point of production and does its living at the point of reproduction. If the planet itself becomes so radioactive that the working class can not reproduce, the point of production could stand intact. What difference if the species can not reproduce? The revolution must be conducted in such a way that the species survives it, this means protect the children of the species, regardless of class. No war on children. Save reproductive environments. The doom of exploitation must not be allowed to become the doom of the world's children. Working class, save the children!

FOOTNOTES

(1) See Bunge, W. W. and R. Bordessa, The Canadian Alternative. Survival, Expeditions and Urban Change, Geographical Monographs (Atkinson College), No. 2, Downsview, Ontario: York University, 1975, pp. 426 et seq.

(2) The Canadian Alternative, op.cit.

(3) Bunge, W. W., Fitzgerald: The Geography of a Revolution, Cambridge Schenkman, 1971.

(4) The Canadian Alternative, op.cit.

(5) See Bunge, W. W., "The Geography of Human Survival," Annals of the Association of American Geographers, Vol. 63, 1973, pp. 275-295.

SYMBOL, SPACE AND THE BICENTENNIAL

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After a decade of doubt and destruction, the Bicentennial was to be a triumphant reaffirmation of the American Way. In success-story language Bicentennial publicity conveyed an image of the nation's past, present and future, one which engulfed the home-truths of previous decades beneath a two hundred year wave of exaltation. Americans were encouraged to put aside the cares of today in favour of spiritual cares transcending time, and yet to be grateful to history since history wrote these transcendent cares into the American heritage. We celebrated the American Experiment — its origin in revolution, its legacy of Enlightenment ideals, and its heroic achievements — but celebrated it more as a model to the world than an experiment. Yet curiously, on the 4th of July, America was a nation dressed up with nowhere to go.

In a classic but controversial study, W. Lloyd Warner looked at a small New England town on the 300th anniversary of its founding. Through the symbols they presented in their celebrations, "the people of the community unknowingly revealed their non-rational, unconscious feelings and beliefs about themselves."(1) Much as an anthropologist might do, Warner drew from his research certain conclusions about the symbolic life of the town's residents and of Americans in general. Warner's study was done in the early 1950s; a similar analysis of the Bicentennial, 45 years later, reveals different kinds of conclusions for two reasons. The Bicentennial was not a small-town event; it was celebrated nationwide and televised round the world. And in any case, the political importance of such a cultural event has changed since Warner's study. Cultural events in any social formation have a function beyond entertainment and pleasure for the people. Whether in Amazonian or American society, cultural events are cohesive and integrative, and although Warner discussed this function, he did not seriously pursue it in his empirical analyses. With the latest phase of capitalist development, the deliberate maintenance of political cohesion has become a pressing necessity.

For Jürgen Habermas this necessity is reflected in legitimation crisis(2). The legitimation crisis is both a source and a symptom of instability in contemporary capitalism. Since the state now not only supports and constitutes the mode of production (as in liberal capitalism) but also actively replaces it and compensates for its excesses(3), the task of legitimation has become critical. For the advanced capitalist state can no longer appear aloof from the economic system by legitimating itself as guardian of the "national interest"; it quite clearly advances some interests and not others. Nor can the capitalist state return to pre-capitalist ways and "rely on residues of tradition that have been undermined and worn out during the development of capitalism."(4) This is the legitimation crisis, and as it develops, the attempts at